

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.379  
14 March 1968  
ENGLISH

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 14 March 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

APR 29 1968

DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. P. WINKLER

(Czechoslovakia)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO  
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA  
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES  
Mr. O. MUNIZ OLIVA

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG  
U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS  
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL  
Mr. J.R. MORDEN  
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER  
Mr. T. LAHODA  
Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE  
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN  
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCILO  
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. E. FRANCO  
Mr. R. BERLENGHI

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO  
Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA

<u>Nigeria:</u>	Alhaji SULE KOLO Mr. B.O. TONWE
<u>Poland:</u>	Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN Mr. E. STANIEWSKI Mr. S. DABROWA
<u>Romania:</u>	Mr. N. ECOBESCO Mr. O. IONESCO Mr. C. GEORGESCO Mr. A. COROIANU
<u>Sweden:</u>	Mrs. A. MYRDAL Mr. A. EDELSTAM Mr. R. BOMAN
<u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:</u>	Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN Mr. O.A. GRINEVSKY Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV Mr. V.B. TOULINOV
<u>United Arab Republic:</u>	Mr. H. KHALLAF Mr. O. SIRRY Mr. M. SHAKER
<u>United Kingdom:</u>	Mr. I.F. PORTER Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE
<u>United States of America:</u>	Mr. W.C. FOSTER Mr. S. DePALMA Mr. L.D. WEILER Mr. C.G. BREAM
<u>Special Representative of the Secretary-General:</u>	Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Czechoslovakia): I declare open the 379th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): My delegation wishes to summarize in a very brief statement its position on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the light of the new text before us (ENDC/224, Annex A).
3. Brazil unequivocally supports the idea of a fair and equitable non-proliferation treaty that would effectively prevent the risk of the spread of nuclear weapons while encouraging the fullest use of nuclear energy in all its forms for the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The delegation of Brazil welcomes the presentation by the representatives of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the new revised draft, inasmuch as this represents an encouraging improvement on the two previous sets of documents tabled by the same delegations (ENDC/192, 193; 192/Rev.1, 193/Rev.1). In our view it confirms the usefulness and necessity of further negotiations and revisions with the object of gradually bringing the draft treaty into conformity with the five guiding principles set forth by United Nations General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) (ENDC/161).
4. The new text was submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on Monday, 11 March, four days before the expected adjournment of the Conference; and it is quite natural and obvious that the Governments represented in this Committee have not had the time to consider, examine and evaluate that document in all its provisions and implications. Since the Committee is not being requested, before adjourning, to pass judgement on the draft, the delegation of Brazil will reserve its position on document ENDC/224, Annex A.
5. The delegation of Brazil would like to refer to document ENDC/201/Rev.2, which will be attached to the report and which embodies our amendments and suggestions. Brazil reserves its right to introduce amendments and to reiterate its position before the General Assembly of the United Nations, more specifically as regards the provisions for control and verification as envisaged in article III of the draft. Brazil maintains that the treaty we are negotiating, besides conforming to the principles of resolution 2028 (XX), ought to recognize the rights of and obligations

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

entered into by nations which, like the Latin-American States, have already concluded a regional treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons (ENDC/186). In this connexion we are bound to reiterate the statement we made at the 367th meeting of the Conference.

6. Brazil expresses the firm hope that, in the period between the termination of the current proceedings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the opening of the resumed twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will pursue negotiations which will enlarge the area of agreement so far attained and preserve the fundamental interests of the non-nuclear world. Brazil is convinced that, on such a solid basis, the nations represented in the General Assembly will achieve sound and positive results. Brazil will go to the resumed twenty-second session with an open mind and the conviction that wide consultations with all countries and all governments will pave the way for constructive achievements safeguarding the interests of all parties concerned.

7. Mr. CARACCILOLO (Italy) (translation from French): The ancient Romans used to say motus in fine velocior -- movement accelerates as it approaches its end. The events of the past few days would have provided our Committee at another time with material for discussion for several weeks, if not for several months. However, wishing to respect the time limit laid down for us by United Nations resolution 2346A (XXII) (ENDC/210), I should not like by this last statement to prolong further the discussions of the Conference. Permit me, therefore, to summarize briefly the point of view of my delegation on the very important documents that have been circulated in the past few days. These are the draft resolution which the three Powers intend to submit to the Security Council (ENDC/224, annex B), the draft text of a treaty on non-proliferation (ibid., annex A), and lastly the draft report addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations (ENDC/224).

8. In regard to the first of these documents, I would simply remark that no discussion could take place on the text of the resolution drafted by the three Powers, and that the General Assembly of the United Nations should be made fully aware of this circumstance.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

9. As for the latest revised version of the text of the draft treaty, the Italian delegation would like in the first place to express its appreciation to the co-Chairmen for the work they have done in the past few months in order to arrive at the present wording of the non-proliferation treaty. While the results are different from those we might have wished for, it is true nevertheless that the work of the co-Chairmen has enabled us to make progress in the right direction, and that it represents a very useful basis for the forthcoming discussions and negotiations in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

10. I believe I am stating a fundamental truth in remarking that the amendments included in the new revised text by the two co-Chairmen and not discussed round this table are only a fraction of the proposals which have been made during the past two months by many countries interested in the negotiations on the non-proliferation treaty, both at Geneva and elsewhere. This fact is important, because some of the suggestions which have been made and have not been included in the new text have nevertheless obtained the assent of many countries, which points clearly enough to the formation of a general opinion.

11. In particular regard to those problems raised by my delegation which relate to amendments not incorporated in the revised text, I wish to thank the representative of the United States for the comments he was kind enough to make on them in his statement yesterday. I wish to assure him that his very interesting remarks will be studied by my Government with the greatest attention. In respect of the necessity of making the treaty as flexible as possible, and of not hampering in any way the development of peaceful nuclear activities, Mr. Foster has sincerely acknowledged that these ideas are essential elements of the non-proliferation treaty. In his statement yesterday, referring to the Italian initiative concerning the supply of fissionable material to non-nuclear countries, the United States co-Chairman said:

(continued in English)

"We believe that the stress which Italy has placed on the vital problem of nuclear supply has contributed to both a realistic and a farsighted appreciation of one of the important features of our work." (ENDC/PV.378, para. 11)

(continued in French)

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

12. Those statements prove to us that the problems raised by my delegation are very important and real. Unfortunately we have not time to study with the necessary attention the replies of the representative of the United States, Mr. Foster. In any case I cannot today agree with his conclusion that the new text satisfactorily answers our misgivings, which I believe to deserve more detailed consideration and on which my delegation cannot give up its right to speak at a later stage in our negotiations.

13. As for the third document, the draft report to the General Assembly, which should be in some way a photograph of the work we have done in common, not without difficulty, during these last two sessions, my delegation is aware of all the efforts that have been made in recent days by the co-authors of the treaty and by all the delegations here to make the photograph resemble the original as closely as possible. Instead of a snapshot which is crude and has its flaws, there has emerged rather a professional photograph which I hope will, through the language of its nuances and its compressions, enable the General Assembly to understand the essence of our discussions.

14. Alhaji SULE KOLO (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation welcomes the revised text of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which was presented to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on 11 March by the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States (ENDC/224, Annex A).

15. We note that some of the amendments proposed in recent discussions have been included in the new draft and others have been left out. We listened with great attention to the statement made yesterday by the representative of the United States, Mr. Foster, in which he gave his reasons for not accepting some of our proposals for inclusion in the revised draft which he and the representative of the USSR presented on 11 March. The Nigerian delegation appreciates the United States delegation's point of view; but we remain convinced that the amendments which we presented in documents ENDC/202 of 2 November 1967 and ENDC/220 of 28 February, would, if accepted, have made the latest revised draft a more satisfactory and effective instrument for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and at the same time alleviating the anxieties of many States.

(Alhaji Sule Kolo, Nigeria)

16. In response to the appeal made by the United States representative on 11 March about the listing of documents (ENDC/PV.376, para. 49), and in order to facilitate the study of our documents by Members of the United Nations General Assembly, the Nigerian delegation has merged the two working papers I have just referred to and made certain alterations where necessary. The product of this exercise has been submitted to the Secretariat of the Committee for circulation to all members (ENDC/220/Rev.1).

17. I should like to add that the case for the amendments contained in the new Nigerian working paper can be found in my statements recorded in documents ENDC/PV.344, 351 and 371.

18. Mr. HUSAIN (India): At this stage of our deliberations, when we are about to conclude our work, I have no intention of adding anything further to the detailed statement I made at the 370th plenary meeting of our Committee, reserving for the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly the position of my Government on the revised text of the draft treaty placed before us on 11 March by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union (ENDC/224, Annex A). However, in the light of certain observations made by the representative of the United States yesterday I feel compelled to clarify the views of the Government of India.

19. The United States representative stated that the burden of my criticism of the draft treaty before us was that "it is not a full-fledged measure of nuclear disarmament" (ENDC/PV.378, para. 23). He added:

"If any of us adopted the view that our desires must be fully satisfied before we could agree on any forward step, there would be no point in negotiation."

(ibid., para. 25).

This understanding of the view of the Government of India and the inference derived therefrom would suggest that my Government seeks all or nothing -- a full-fledged measure of nuclear disarmament or no step towards nuclear disarmament at all. That, I submit, is not the stand of the Government of India, nor is it a correct description of our stand.



(Mr. Husain, India)

20. My Government has been a firm believer in the step-by-step approach towards nuclear disarmament as well as general and complete disarmament. We have never adopted an "all or nothing" approach. What we have sincerely believed in -- and this has also been borne out by the history of past disarmament efforts -- is that each step we take, however small, should be effective and purposeful. That view is based on principle 2(c) of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), that the treaty on non-proliferation should be a step towards disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament (ENDC/161). The delegation of India has never suggested that a non-proliferation treaty should in itself become a vehicle or a measure of full-fledged nuclear disarmament.

21. Further, in pursuance of principle 2(b) of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), that the treaty should "embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers", we have urged that obligations in regard to both the dissemination and the production aspects of proliferation should fall equally on all States and be embodied in the treaty itself. In regard to dissemination of nuclear weapons, this should mean that, while the non-nuclear-weapon States undertake not to receive nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to transfer nuclear weapons.

22. Similarly, in regard to the production aspect, while non-nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to produce any nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to produce any further nuclear weapons. A stoppage in the production of nuclear weapons by all countries, or a cut-off by all countries of the production of fissionable material for weapon purposes, would not involve any nuclear disarmament, for neither of those measures would involve the destruction of a single nuclear weapon. The question of nuclear disarmament, in other words the reduction or destruction of existing nuclear arsenals, would be a matter to be dealt with subsequently and in stages.

23. It was for that reason that, while referring to article VI of the revised draft treaty before us, I stated that article VI did not create any definite or enforceable juridical obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States corresponding to the obligation undertaken under article II by the non-nuclear-weapon States. I added:

(Mr. Husain, India)

"It is an imperfect obligation with no sanction behind it. Even the areas within which the negotiations are expected to be pursued are not clearly defined." (ENDC/PV.370, para. 25)

I further stated that article VI did not give any tangible form to the declaration of good intent, there being no sense of compulsive obligation or even a sense of urgency to pursue negotiations for nuclear disarmament as a preliminary to general and complete disarmament.

24. I then mentioned the various suggestions made in this Committee to impart to article VI the sense of urgency and compulsiveness I had spoken of. Some of the suggestions made by my colleagues were accepted; but there were many other suggestions which in our view were even more important for an acceptable, viable and lasting treaty and which were not acceptable to the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States.

25. Consequently my Government feels that in many respects the draft treaty before us does not meet the requirements of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX). It is therefore the hope of my Government that this aspect of the matter will be given the most careful and serious consideration when the report of this Committee comes to be discussed by the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly, which will discuss not only the link between the non-proliferation treaty and nuclear disarmament measures but also other principles enunciated in the General Assembly resolution I have referred to.

26. The United States representative also expressed the belief -

"... that those who continue to have reservations about what they may feel to be the limited scope of this treaty should consider carefully the implications of their position." (ENDC/PV.378, para. 26)

On that I should like to say that, as my colleagues are aware, the Government of India has had reservations about the limited approach and restrictive scope of the draft treaty before us and continues to maintain those reservations even after seeing the revised text of the draft treaty presented to this Committee on 11 March by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union. Let me add that those

(Mr. Hussain, India)

reservations have been made by the Government of India after due deliberation, with a full sense of responsibility and after a most careful consideration of the implications of the stand my Government has taken. Indeed, any democratic government reflecting and responsive to the aspirations and the ideals of its people could do no less when considering a question of such vital importance as a non-proliferation treaty, which would have a profound impact on the future of international peace and security throughout the world.

27. I fully agree, however, with the last remark made by the United States representative in his statement:

"Progress in arms control and disarmament will always be difficult and, if it is to be realized, it will require the co-operation and encouragement of all nations which sincerely share this objective." (ibid.)

I can only add that not only will the co-operation and encouragement of all nations be required but their perseverance and continued faith will be needed for achieving the objectives that we all have in view in this difficult area of arms control and disarmament.

28. Mr. BURNS (Canada): I should like to speak on a procedural matter in connexion with the preparation of the report; and I should prefer, if it is agreeable to the Committee, that the matter be discussed off the record.

29. The CHAIRMAN (Czechoslovakia): If there is no objection by members of the Committee, the discussion of the matter which the representative of Canada wishes to raise will not be recorded in the verbatim records.

An informal discussion took place at this point.

30. The CHAIRMAN (Czechoslovakia): We shall now resume the formal meeting.

31. I should like to announce that it has been requested that the next meeting of the Conference be held this afternoon instead of tomorrow. In view of the time limit set by General Assembly resolution 2346A (XXII) (ENDC/210) for the submission of the full report of our Conference, I think we should comply with that request. If there is no objection, that will be reflected in the communiqué for this meeting.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 379th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador P. Winkler, representative of Czechoslovakia.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Brazil, Italy, Nigeria and India.

"The delegation of Nigeria tabled a working paper containing additions and amendments for inclusion in the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/220/Rev.1).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 14 March 1968, at 4 p.m."

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.